

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 ACDA-19 EB-11 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 PRS-01 L-03 PM-07 NSC-07 SP-03 SS-20

SAJ-01 DRC-01 /110 W

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P R 031854Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1543

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 05429

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, EEC, NATO, GW

SUBJECT: EUROPE IN AFTERMATH OF POMPIDOU DEATH: INITIAL
FRG VIEWS

BEGIN SUMMARY: WE HAVE OBTAINED INITIAL FRG FONOFF
REACTION TO SITUATION IN EUROPE AND U.S./EUROPEAN
RELATIONS FOLLOWING APRIL 1-2 LUXEMBOURG EC COUNCIL
MEETING AND SUBSEQUENT DEATH OF POMPIDOU. SENIOR GERMAN
OFFICIAL, WHO IS INTIMATE ADVISOR OF FOREIGN MINISTER
SCHEEL, BELIEVES COOLING OFF PERIOD WILL NOW ENSUE
WHICH, AMONG OTHER THINGS, MAY EXPOSE NEW BRITISH
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GOVERNMENT TO "SOME OF THE REALITIES IN EUROPE." FONOFF

SOURCE EXPECTS, AND REGRETS, THAT U.S./WEST EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP WILL IN THE COMING MONTHS TAKE ON AN INCREASINGLY BILATERAL AS OPPOSED TO MULTILATERAL CHARACTER. GERMAN OFFICIAL SAID HE THOUGHT GISCARD WOULD RUN FOR THE PRESIDENCY AND WOULD HAVE A REASONABLY GOOD CHANCE TO WIN ON THE SECOND TOUR. END SUMMARY

1. VISITING ACDA COUNSELOR NEWHOUSE, ACCOMPANIED BY EMBOFF, MET APRIL 3 WITH FONOFF POLICY PLANNING STAFF CHIEF GUIDO BRUNNER FOR DISCUSSION OF CURRENT SITUATION IN EUROPE AND U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONS. WE ARE REPORTING BY SEPTELS ON BRUNNER'S RELATED COMMENTS CONCERNING CSCE AND CURRENT STATE OF EAST-WEST DETENTE.

2. IN COMMENTING ON STATE OF WESTERN EUROPE FOLLOWING LUXEMBOURG COUNCIL MEETING AND DEATH OF PRESIDENT POMPIDOU, BRUNNER SAID IT IS NECESSARY TO RECOGNIZE THAT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT PERIOD LIES AHEAD, IN WHICH, AT LEAST FOR AWHILE NOTHING POSITIVE WILL BE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE FIELD OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION. THIS ALREADY WAS CLEAR TO THE GERMANS FOLLOWING THE CALLAGHAN VISIT TO BONN AND THE PROFOUNDLY NEGATIVE COMMENTS ON THE EC AT THE ANGLO-GERMAN KOENIGSWINTER CONFERENCE LAST WEEKEND IN SCOTLAND. THE SHARP TONE OF CALLAGHAN'S COMMENTS IN LUXEMBOURG, AND JOBERT'S EQUALLY TART REACTION, REMOVED ALL DOUBTS.

3. IN THIS PROSPECTIVE, AMBASSADOR BRUNNER THOUGHT TWO POSSIBLE POSITIVE POLITICAL EFFECTS MIGHT OCCUR IN THE AFTERMATH OF POMPIDOU'S DEATH. THE PASSING OF THE FRENCH LEADER WOULD SERVE TO ILLUMINATE AND DRAMATIZE THE SERIOUSNESS OF CURRENT COMMUNITY CRISIS AND INDICATE THAT NOW IS THE TIME TO BE GUIDED BY A SENSE OF CAUTION. SECONDLY, A KIND OF COOLING OFF PERIOD WOULD BE LIKELY TO DEVELOP, IN WHICH MAJOR NEW INITIATIVES AND COMPLICATED NEGOTIATING PROCESSES WOULD HAVE TO BE DEFERRED. BRUNNER THOUGHT THIS MIGHT GIVE THE NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT TIME TO OBTAIN A BETTER GRASP OF THE REALITIES IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND OF THE MUTUAL INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE EC STATES UPON ONE ANOTHER,

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PARTICULARLY IN THE ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL AREA. GIVEN THE FINANCIAL AND BUDGETARY PITFALLS AHEAD FOR THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE UK NEED FOR GERMAN COOPERATION, A COOLING OFF PERIOD MIGHT HAVE A TEMPERING EFFECT ON INITIAL SHARP UK DEMANDS. IN SHORT, BRUNNER BELIEVES THAT THE CURRENT SITUATION MAY TEND TO DIMINISH WILSON'S ROOM FOR MANEUVER IN THE

EC RENEGOTIATION.

4. IN REPLY TO A QUESTION FROM NEWHOUSE, BRUNNER ALSO PROVIDED HIS VIEW ON UPCOMING ELECTION FOR FRENCH PRESIDENCY. BRUNNER EXPECTED THAT THERE WOULD BE THREE CANDIDATES - CHABAN-DELMAS, GISCARD D'ESTAING AND MITTERAND. DESPITE POSSIBLE DANGERS OF SPLITTING THE NON-LEFTIST VOTE, BRUNNER SAID HE WAS CONVINCED THAT GISCARD WOULD NOT PASS UP THIS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO

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SAJ-01 DRC-01 /110 W

----- 069578

P R 031854Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1544

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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RUN FOR THE PRESIDENCY, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THE UNLIKELI-

HOOD OF THE GAULLISTS EVER WILLINGLY GRANTING HIM THEIR ENDORSEMENT. BRUNNER THOUGHT THAT, IN SUCH A THREE WAY RACE, MITTERAND WOULD TAKE THE MOST VOTES BUT WOULD FALL SHORT OF AN ABSOLUTE MAJORITY IN THE FIRST TOUR. BRUNNER EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT GISCARD WOULD HAVE A REASONABLY GOOD CHANCE TO COME IN SECOND, AHEAD OF CHABAN, AND THEN TO WIN THE PRESIDENCY IN THE RUN OFF. IN BRUNNER'S VIEW, CHABAN WOULD BE LIKELY TO COME OUT THIRD. HE SAID THE ELECTION COMES AT THE WRONG TIME FOR THE GAULLISTS, WHO HAD IN THE RECENT MONTHS SOUGHT TO GO BACK TO THEIR FUNDAMENTALIST SECRET

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DOCTRINES IN AN EFFORT TO POLARIZE THE POLITICAL SCENE BETWEEN THE LEFTISTS (READ-COMMUNISTS) AND THE GAULLISTS (READ-SAFE GOVERNMENT). BRUNNER THOUGHT THE ELECTION COMES AT A PARTICULARLY BAD TIME FOR CHABAN, WHO HAS NOT HAD THE TIME TO POLISH UP SUFFICIENTLY HIS POLITICAL IMAGE.

5. IN COMMENTING ON THE POSSIBLE POLICIES OF THESE THREE POTENTIAL CANDIDATES, BRUNNER SAID HE THOUGHT THAT BOTH GISCARD AND CHABAN WOULD WISH TO FOLLOW POLICY MORE FAVORABLE TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, CHABAN, MORE THAN GISCARD, WOULD BE IN A POSITION OF HAVING TO LOOK OVER HIS SHOULDER AT THE GAULLIST FUNDAMENTALISTS. WHILE MITTERAND HAD ALLEGEDLY MATURED SOMEWHAT POLITICALLY, BRUNNER OBSERVED THAT HE WOULD BE IN A TOUGH POSITION IN TERMS OF STABLE SUPPORT IN THE FRENCH ASSEMBLY, AS HIS COALITION WITH THE COMMUNISTS IS AN ELECTORAL RATHER THAN A PROGRAMATIC ONE.

6. BRUNNER SAID IT NOW SEEMED CLEAR THAT U.S./WEST EUROPEAN RELATIONS WOULD TAKE AN INCREASINGLY BILATERAL RATHER THAN MULTILATERAL FORM--IN THE FIELD OF CONSULTATIONS AND IN OTHER WAYS. WHILE BRUNNER VERY MUCH REGRETED THIS TREND, IT SEEMED TO BE THE WAY THINGS WOULD GO, AT LEAST FOR THE SHORT RUN.

ON THE OTHER HAND, BRUNNER DID NOT TAKE JOBERT'S "NON" IN LUXEMBOURG AS A DEFINITIVE ANSWER ON CONSULTATIONS WITH THE U.S. OR FURTHER PROGRESS IN EUROPE. BUT A COOLING OFF PERIOD WOULD BE REQUIRED AS A PRECONDITION FOR FURTHER PROGRESS ON EITHER OF THESE TWO MATTERS.

7. IN A SEPARATE CONVERSATION, ANOTHER SENIOR FRG OFFICIAL CONCURRED IN BRUNNER'S ESTIMATE THAT EUROPEAN AND ATLANTIC RELATIONS WOULD IN THE SHORT RUN TAKE ON INCREASINGLY BILATERAL CHARACTER. THIS OFFICIAL, WITH

RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE DEFENSE AREA, SAID THE KEY
TASKS IMMEDIATELY AHEAD ARE TO SHORE UP THE ATLANTIC
RELATIONSHIP AND TO MAINTAIN BILATERAL BALANCE
WITHIN WESTERN EUROPE. HE SAID THE GERMANS ALSO FELT
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THE NEED TO PROVIDE A SENSE OF PARTNERSHIP TO THE
SMALLER EC-9 AND NATO ALLIES. HE ADDED THE VIEW THAT
THE GERMANS SHOULD ALSO SPEAK UP MORE IN URGING
THESE SMALLER NATO ALLIES TO MAINTAIN AND IMPROVE THEIR
NATIONAL DEFENSE EFFORTS IN THE INTEREST OF ALLIANCE
VIABILITY.
HILLENBRAND

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, FOREIGN RELATIONS, DEATH IN OFFICE, POLITICAL SITUATION, ELECTION FORECASTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 03 APR 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974BONN05429
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740074-0912
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740472/aaaacnor.tel
Line Count: 240
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 01 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <01 APR 2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <05 JUN 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EUROPE IN AFTERMATH OF POMPIDOU DEATH: INITIAL FRG VIEWS
TAGS: PFOR, FR, GE, EEC, NATO, (POMPIDOU, GEORGE)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005